

## Message Text

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11

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W  
----- 101161

R 170019Z AUG 74

FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5388

INFO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY NASSAU

AMEMBASSY SUVA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 CARACAS 7954

EXDIS

FROM US DEL LOS

DEPT PASS TO INGERSOLL, MAW, HUMMELL, AND MCINTYRE

EO 11652: XGDS 3

TAGS: PLOS

SUBJECT: ARCHIPELAGO DISCUSSION WITH MARSHAL SUDARMONO OF  
INDONESIA

SUMMARY. US REP MOORE MET AUGUST 15 WITH INDONESIA REP AIR  
MARSHAL SUDARMONO TO DISCUSS ARCHIPELAGO ISSUES.  
TALKS CONFIRMED UNDERSTANDING EXPRESSED BY MOCHTAR TO AMBASSADOR  
NEWSOM AND RESULTED IN PROCEDURAL DECISION TO RESUME NEXT  
ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS IN JAKARTA IN NOVEMBER.

1. US REP MOORE AND INDONESIAN REP AIR MARSHAL SUDARMONO  
MET FOR OVER AN HOUR ON AUGUST 15 TO CONTINUE ARCHIPELAGO DIS-  
CUSSIONS. SUDARMONO INDICATED THAT HE HAD BEEN PREPARED TO DISCUSS  
DETAILS OF OVERFLIGHT, BREADTH OF CORRIDOR AND STRAITS  
PASSAGE THIS SESSION BUT POLITICAL DECISION TAKEN THAT THE  
TIME WAS TOO EARLY. HE CLEARLY SIGNALLED, HOWEVER, THAT  
AGREEMENT SHOULD BE COMPLETED BEFORE NEXT SESSION OF LOS  
CONFERENCE AND THAT WHEN TIME RIGHT INDONESIA IS WILLING TO  
AGREE TO OVERFLIGHT, ARCHIPELAGIC PASSAGE IN SEALANES AND  
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SUPPORT FOR US STRAITS OBJECTIVES. HE INDICATED STRONG FEELING

THAT AGREEMENT MUST BE CONCLUDED BEFORE NEXT SESSION OF CONFERENCE AND THAT MAJOR TIMING PROBLEM IS THAT PHILIPPINES ARE OUT OF STEP WITH OTHER ARCHIPELAGO STATES ON THEIR SENSE OF CONFERENCE TIMING. IN THIS CONNECTION HE IMPLIED PHILIPPINE PROBLEM MAY BE A TIMING PROBLEM AND THAT IF PROBLEM BECOMES TOO SEVERE INDONESIA MAY DECIDE TO PROCEED SEPARATELY.

2. SUDARMONO INVITED MOORE AND ARCHIPELAGO TEAM TO COME TO JAKARTA IN NOVEMBER FOR RESUMPTION OF TALKS. HE INDICATED HE WOULD NEED SEVERAL MONTHS AFTER TALKS FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH ARCHIPELAGO STATES AND OTHERS BEFORE NEXT SESSION OF CONFERENCE BEGAN. MOORE INDICATED US TEAM MIGHT ALSO CONSIDER EFFORT TO RESUME PHILIPPINE DISCUSSIONS IN LIGHT OF PHILIPPINE COMMITTEE II STATEMENT SEEMING TO INVITE CONTINUED CONSULTATIONS. SUDARMONO INDICATED THIS WOULD NOT CAUSE PROBLEMS.

3. MOORE INDICATED THAT IN VIEW CURRENT POLITICAL SENSITIVITIES US WOULD NOT PLAN TO SHARE NEXT ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER MARITIME POWERS AS PER PREVIOUS FORMULAE UNTIL INDONESIA INDICATED TIMING APPROPRIATE.

4. MOORE ALSO INDICATED US MIGHT HAVE MORE DETAILED DISCUSSIONS WITH BAHAMAS ON ARCHIPELAGO ISSUES. SUDARMONO WELCOMED THIS INITIATIVE AND INDICATED A FEW MORE MEMBERS OF ARCHIPELAGO GROUP COULD BE USEFUL.

5. SUDARMONO CRITICAL OF INDONESIAN CO-SPONSORSHIP L4 WHICH INCLUDED COASTAL ARCHIPELAGOS AND SAID THIS HAD SET BACK ARCHIPELAGO CAUSE. FYI. THERE APPEARS TO BE LOW KEY RIVALRY BETWEEN MOCHTAR AND SUDARMONO THAT TAKES FORM OF CRITICISM BY SUDARMONO OF SOME ACTIONS TAKEN BY MOCHTAR.

6. SUDARMONO INDICATED INDONESIA WANTS SECOND SESSION OF CONFERENCE TO BEGIN ONLY AFTER APRIL 1975.

7. ON SUBSTANCE OF THREE PRINCIPAL POINTS OF REMAINING US-INDONESIAN DIFFERENCES SUDARMONO MADE FOLLOWING POINTS:

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(A) OVERFLIGHT - OVERFLIGHT AS PART OF MULTILATERAL TREATY REGIME ENVISAGED OVER SEALANES. INDONESIA DOES NOT WANT SEPARATE AIR LANES. THE OVERFLIGHT SHOULD NOT DISTURB LOCAL AIR NAVIGATION. TO ACHIEVE THIS OVERFLIGHT MIGHT BE PERMITTED ABOVE A CERTAIN AGREED ALTITUDE (HE NAMED 30,000 FEET AS AN EXAMPLE BUT SEEMED FLEXIBLE ON THIS) AND STATED ALSO LOCAL CONTROLLERS SHOULD BE INFORMED OF FLIGHTS. MOORE POINTED OUT PARTICULAR DIFFI-

CULTY CAUSED BY NOTIFICATION REQUIREMENT BUT INDICATED DELS SHOULD BE ABLE TO WORK TOGETHER TO SOLVE SAFETY PROBLEM. SUDARMONO ENVISAGED REGIME AS APPLYING TO ALL ARCHIPELAGOS INCLUDING PHILIPPINES AND PERMITTING FLIGHTS TO TAKE OFF FROM AIRCRAFT CARRIERS WITHIN SEALANES AS LONG AS AN OBLIGATION IMPOSED TO GO DIRECTLY TO REQUIRED ALTITUDE. SUDARMONO ALSO INDICATED THERE SHOULD BE ONE GENERAL RULE FOR ALL TYPES OF AIR NAVIGATION. DURING MEETING SUDARMONO SAID US COULD HAVE OVER FLIGHT UNLESS IT ENDANGERED LOCAL AIR NAVIGATION.

(B) BREADTH OF SEALANES -- SUDARMONO INDICATED HE FULLY UNDERSTOOD US NEED FOR OPERATIONAL FLEXIBILITY IN SEALANES AND THAT WIDTH OF CORRIDOR SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED BY NAVY TECHNICAL EXPERTS ON BOTH INDONESIAN AND US SIDE FAMILIAR WITH REAL OPERATIONAL NEEDS. HE SAID HE FELT US DID NOT NEED 100 MILES. MOORE WAS UNABLE TO ELICIT SPECIFIC INDONESIAN FIGURES DURING DISCUSSION. SUDARMONO DID INDICATE THAT WE SHOULD COMPARE U.S. AND INDONESIAN NAVY MANUALS FOR INSTANCES REQUIRED FOR PARTICULAR OPERATIONS. MOORE INDICATED US WOULD MAKE EFFORT TO BRING ALONG TECHNICAL INFORMATION ON THESE ISSUES AT JAKARTA MEETING IN NOVEMBER.

(C) STRAITS -- SUDARMONO INDICATED QUESTION OF TIMING FOR SUPPORT OF STRAITS WAS IMPORTANT AND SHOULD BE LEFT TO INDONESIANS. HE ALSO INDICATED US NEEDED TO PROVIDE SECURITY FEELING NOT RPT NOT SECURITY BUT RATHER SECURITY FEELING. HE MENTIONED IN THIS CONNECTION TERM INNOCENT PASSAGE MIGHT BE USED TO DESCRIBE LEGAL RIGHTS SOUGHT BY US BUT AFTER MOORE POINTED OUR ASSOCIATION OF TERM VERY BAD HE INDICATED FLEXIBILITY ON TERMINOLOGY.

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W  
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R 170019Z AUG 74  
FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5389  
INFO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA  
AMEMBASSY MANILA  
AMEMBASSY NASSAU  
AMEMBASSY SUVA

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 CARACAS 7954

EXDIS

FROM US DEL LOS

DEPT PASS TO INGERSOLL, MAW, HUMMELL, AND MCINTYRE

8. ANALYSIS: DISCUSSION WITH MARSHAL SUDARMONO CONFIRMS MOCHTAR MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR NESOM IN JAKARTA. INDONESIANS SEEM CLEARLY READY TO PROVIDE OVERFLIGHT AND SUPPORT ON STRAITS IN RETURN FOR SUPPORT OF ARCHIPELAGO CONCEPT BY US AND OTHER MARI-TIME STATES. THEY FEEL TIME IS TOO EARLY AT PRESENT SESSION OF CONFERENCE FOR THIS MOVE AND SEEM PARTICULARLY INFLUENCED BY FACT THAT PHILIPPINES ARE DRAGGING THEIR HEELS ON THE TIMING ISSUE. IT IS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT WHEN THEY VIEW TIME AS RIGHT THEY WILL BE READY TO BREAK WITH PHILIPPINES IF THEY ARE NOT IN AGREEMENT. THEY ARE ALSO SENSITIVE ON MODALITIES OF THEIR SUPPORT FOR STRAITS SO AS NOT TO LOSE SUPPORT OF GROUP OF 77 FOR ARCHIPELAGO ISSUE. SUDARMONO IS CONSISTENTLY THE MOST OPEN AND FORTHCOMING OF THE INDONESIAN NEGOTIATING TEAM.

9. ACTION REQUESTED: LOS DEL RECOMMENDS THAT IF DEPT CONCURS THAT ON SUDARMONO'S RETURN (HE LEAVES CARACAS ON AUGUST 16) AMBASSADOR NEWSOM CONFIRM DATES OF NOVEMBER DJAKARTA MEETING WITH MARSHAL SUDARMONO AND POSSIBLY WITH JUSTICE MINISTER MOCHTAR WHO MADE CLEAR TO US TEAM THAT HE WAS IN CHARGE OF ARCHIPELAGO NEGOTIATION. LOS DEL WOULD BE ABLE TO

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SEND ARCHIPELAGO TEAM LED BY MOORE AND INCLUDING ADMIRAL MORRIS (JCS), STUART FRENCH (DOD), BERNARD OXMAN (STATE), AND ROBERT HODGSON (STATE). MOORE GOT FEELING THAT SUDARMONO SOUGHT TO DESCRIBE TALKS AS BETWEEN TECHNICAL EXPERTS IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO PLAY LARGER ROLE VIS-A-VIS JUSTICE MINISTER MOCHTAR. US DEL WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSY ADVICE ON HOW TO AVOID POSSIBLE JURISDICTIONAL BATTLE BETWEEN MOCHTAR AND SUDARMONO. IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT MOCHTAR WILL BE SENSITIVE TO SUDARMONO MAKING ARRANGEMENTS FOR NOVEMBER JAKARTA MEETING AND, IF SO, WE WOULD APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS AS TO HOW THIS PROBLEM COULD BE DEFUSED. POSSIBLY WE SHOULD JUST GO IN WITH REQUEST FOR NOVEMBER JAKARTA MEETING WITH NO REFERENCE SUDARMONO MEETING IN CARACAS. WE WOULD, OF COURSE, FIND IT USEFUL TO MAXIMIZE SUDARMONO'S ROLE IF POSSIBLE WITHOUT UNDERCUTTING CHANCES OF AGREEMENT. STEVENSON

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